

THE WILEY BLACKWELL COMPANION TO

# ZOROASTRIANISM



EDITED BY

**Michael Stausberg and  
Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina**  
with Anna Tessmann

**WILEY** Blackwell

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This edition first published 2015  
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*Registered Office*

John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

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350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

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*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism / Edited by Michael Stausberg and Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina.

pages    cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4443-3135-6 (cloth)

I. Zoroastrianism.    I. Stausberg, Michael, editor.    II. Vevaina, Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw, editor.

III. Title: Companion to Zoroastrianism.

BL1572.W55 2015

295-dc23

2014044819

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: Temple door at Chak Chak, Yazd, Iran. Photo © Jamshid Varza

Set in 10/12.5pt Photina by SPi Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

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## CHAPTER 2

# Zarathustra's Time and Homeland Linguistic Perspectives

Almut Hintze

Zoroastrianism, like any religion or cultural system, may be studied from either the internal or the external point of view. The internal, or emic, perspective arises from investigating the religion from within the system, as from the point of view of one of its adherents. By contrast, the external, or etic, perspective is that of the outside observer (Headland, Pike, and Harris 1990; Knott 2010).

From the internal perspective, after earlier attempts involving other individuals, including Yima (*Vd* 2.2) and Gaiiō Marətan (*Yt* 13.87; Stausberg 2012c), the god Ahura Mazdā communicated the Mazdayasnian religion most successfully to humankind through a man named Zarathustra. He conveyed it in the form of the *Avesta*, and especially the *Ahuna Vairiia* (or *Yaθā Ahū Vairiīō*) prayer (*Y* 27.13). Zarathustra was 'born' (*zātō* *Vd* 19.46) the son of Pourušaspa and Duyδōuuā (*FrD* 4), and his birth marks the end of the lawless and violent power of the *daēuuas*, or 'demons', and the beginning of the spreading of the Mazdayasnian religion on earth (*Yt* 19.80–81, 13.94). His followers acknowledge Ahura Mazdā as their god and Zarathustra as their role model by declaring themselves to be 'Mazdayasnian Zarathustrian(s)' (*mazdaiiasnō zaraθuštriš* *Y* 12.1). They perceive the birth of Zarathustra to be a turning point in world history, which is divided into the periods before and after Zarathustra. As soon as Zarathustra is born, Evil, embodied by Angra Mainiiu and his minions, the *daēuuas*, starts to withdraw from the surface of the earth and hide underground. Its eventual complete removal is the culmination and end (*frašō.kərati-*) of world history.

From the external perspective Zoroastrianism is viewed in its relationship to the history and prehistory of the oldest Iranian languages and religions. The sources, which include the sacred texts and literature produced by adherents of the religion, are examined with a view to contextualizing them in space and time and understanding their languages and conceptual worlds. Furthermore, the examination includes investigating how what we observe from an external point of view relates to the beliefs upheld by

insiders. In view of the fact that the earliest mention of the name of Zarathustra is in a Greek source dating from the mid-5th century BCE (Kingsley 1995), and that outside the *Avesta* there is no evidence for the person Zarathustra from the presumably prehistoric times of the religion's inception, the question of his time and homeland is essentially that of the date and provenance of the earliest expression of Zoroastrianism, the *Avesta*.

Linguistic analysis shows that the *Avesta* is comprised of texts dating from different periods (Skjærvø 2003–2004; Hintze 2009a). The oldest stratum is formed by the *Ahuna Vairiia* prayer (Y 27.13), the *Gāthās* (Y 28–34, 43–51, 53) the *Ā Airiiōma Išiia* or *Airiia*man prayer (Y 54.1) and the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti* (Y 35.2–41). In recent years arguments have been put forward for a middle layer, termed Middle Avestan (Tremblay 2006b; Kellens 2007b: 104–110, but see the caveats of Skjærvø 2009: 45), which includes the 'Formula of the Cattle Breeder' (*Fšūšō Maθrō* Y 58) and some other texts, and which would represent the ancestor of the youngest stratum, usually referred to as the *Young(er) Avesta*. As no absolute dates for any of these texts are available, any dating has to be based on a relative chronology, on the one hand, of how the various strata of Avestan texts relate to one another, and, on the other, of how such strata relate to literature in related languages, particularly Old Persian and Vedic Sanskrit. The question of the date of the *Old(er) Avesta* is connected with that of its homeland if it is assumed that it originated in Proto-Iranian times when the Iranians were still one people and before they migrated southwards into Iran, presumably in the course of the first half of the 2nd millennium BCE (Schmitt 1987). As the *Avesta* is the vehicle of the Zoroastrian religion, its presence in any given area is taken as an indication of the practice of those beliefs there.

## External Evidence for the *Avesta*

The earliest absolute dates of texts in any Iranian language come from the beginning of the reign of the Achaemenid king Darius the Great (522–486 BCE), who recorded his ascension to power in Elamite, Babylonian, and Old Persian rock inscriptions at Bīsotūn in Media (Huyse 2009). The religious affiliation of the Achaemenids has been much debated, but compelling evidence suggests that they were familiar with the *Avesta* (Skjærvø 1999, 2005a; Lincoln 2012b; but doubted by de Jong 2005: 88–90). That the Mazdayasnian religion was firmly established in western Iran and Asia Minor by the beginning of the Achaemenid period also emerges from the accounts of the Persian religion and its customs by the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 480–425 BCE; de Jong 1997: 76–120) and from the invocation of the *ahurānīš*, an epithet of the waters in the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*, found in the Aramaic version of the trilingual inscription from Xanthos in Lycia, dating from 358 BCE and discovered in 1973 (Boyce and Grenet 1991: 476; Hintze 2007: 235).

The earliest evidence for *mazdā*- 'Wise One' as the name of a deity is widely thought to be found in the collocation <sup>P</sup>as-sa-ra <sup>D</sup>ma-za-āš in the neo-Assyrian cuneiform tablet K252, col. 9, line 23 (Menzel 1981 II: T122). Although the document comes from the library of Assurbanipal (668–c. 630 BCE), it could be a copy of a middle-Assyrian text. If, as is widely assumed, the expression represented the two parts of the name of the principal Zoroastrian god *ahura- mazdā*- (Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989: 321–322), then the case ending would be marked only in the second half. However, since the

assumption of a compound equivalent to OP *A<sup>h</sup>uramazdā* is difficult to reconcile with both the fact that in the Assyrian form *s* has not changed to *h*, whereas it does elsewhere in Iranian, and that the determinative DINGIR marks each of the two words as a separate divine name, one might consider the possibility that two, rather than one, Iranian divinities are intended. Since in most, though not all, cases on the tablet each line presents a separate deity, the two divine names could have constituted a fixed collocation. The expression would then be a rendering of what in Old Avestan is *\*ahurā* 'the lords', the plural being formed, like OAv. *mašiiā* 'mortals', with the ending of the Indo-European collective, and *mazdā* 'the Wise one'. The Gathic formula *mazdāscā ahurāñhō* has been shown to result from the inversion of an earlier (unattested) invocation *\*ahurāhah mazdāscā* 'O lords and the Wise one' (Narten 1982: 55–58, 65–66). The Assyrian *pas-sa-ra ma-za-āš* 'the lords, the Wise one', then lists the two parts of the uninverted collocation asyndetically in the nominative and in their proto-Iranian phonetic shape. The assumption that the pan-Iranian sound change of IIr. *\*s* > Iranian *h* was still in progress at the time Iranian speaking tribes moved into western Iran agrees with the hypothesis that such a phonetic development also affected geographical names in the Indo-Iranian borderlands when the Iranians adopted them from earlier Indo-Aryan inhabitants. The hypothesis entails that immigrating tribes of Iranian tongue would have taken over names such as *sārasvatī-*, *sarāyu-* from the earlier, Proto-Indo-Aryan population which by then would have migrated further into India. The names were subsequently subject to Iranian sound laws, including the change *\*s* > *h*, and eventually resulted in Av. *harax<sup>a</sup>aitī-*, OP *haraுவதிš*, the name of the country Arachosia, and YAv. *harōiuua-*, OP *haraiva-* (< IIr. *\*saraiua-*), NP *harē*, the present day region of Herat (Hintze 1998b: 144–149).

While *ahura-*, corresponding to Vedic *ásura-*, is inherited from Indo-Iranian (Hale 1986), this is probably not so in the case of *mazdā-* because there is no Vedic deity of the name *\*medhā-* 'Wise one', although personified *medhā-* might be attested in a personal name (Hintze 1998a: 156, fn. 58). However, the fact that the invocation *mazdāscā ahurāñhō* is used not only in its original vocative function 'O Wise one and the lords' (Y 30.9) but also as the subject of a sentence (Y 31.4) indicates that it was already being treated as a petrified formula and no longer felt to be part of the living language at the time the *Gāthās* were composed. This suggests that the collocation, and hence also the divine name *mazdā-*, already existed in the pre-Gathic religion (Narten 1982: 62–66; 1996: 83–87). A characteristic innovation of the religion of the *Avesta* is that the worship of Mazdā is coupled with the rejection of the gods of the Indo-Iranians, the *daēuuas*. The mindset of a person who sacrifices to Mazdā, the *daēnā- māzdaiiasni-*, is opposed to that of those who sacrifice to the *daēuuas*, the *daēnā- daēuuaiiasnanqm*. The fact that the adjective *māzdaiiasni-* was formed by means of an archaic derivational mechanism no longer productive in historical times points towards the prehistoric origins of the religion of the *Avesta* (Benveniste 1970; Hintze 2013b: 24, 28 fn.18).

The language of the *Avesta*, which constitutes the earliest surviving document of any Iranian language, is so closely related to that of the earliest sources of the Hindu tradition, the Vedic texts, that it is possible to find not only words but entire phrases which may be transposed from one idiom into the other merely by observing phonological rules (Sims-Williams 1998: 126). In the absence of absolute dates for

any of these sources and on the basis of a relative chronology most scholars assume that the Vedic texts cover a time span of approximately one thousand years, from c. 1500 to 500 BCE, with the oldest texts, the hymns of the *Rigveda*, being composed between 1500 and 1200 BCE, and the three other *Samhitās* somewhat later, between 1000 and 800 BCE (Jamison 1991: 1–16). Iranian loan words in Vedic sources have been adduced to provide clues for establishing the approximate time by which specific Young(er) Avestan forms had developed, although details remain uncertain. In particular, the *Atharvaveda*, which is generally dated around 1000 BCE, mentions the name of the tribe of the *bāhlika-* (AV 5.22), a people thought to be the Bactrians located in the far north-west of the Vedic tribes. The Vedic form seems to be borrowed from the local Iranian name of Bactria (Witzel 1980: 91). In the Bactrian language sources the name βαχλο is attested in the 4th century CE on Kushano-Sasanian coins and in a letter written on leather (BDNA cd). Although there is currently no evidence for another Bactrian word containing the cluster -xl-, βαχλο could result by regular sound development from \*bāxθrī-, with -xl- < \*-xθr-, just as -rl- < \*-rθr- in ορλαγνο ‘Vərəθrayna’ and μορλο ‘death’ < \*mṛθra- (Sims-Williams 2007: 19, 74–75, 202, 235). Since in the *Avesta* the form expected according to Avestan sound laws would be \*bāxδrī-, cf. the noun *baxδra-* ‘share’, the actual Young(er) Avestan form of the name of Bactria, *bāxδī-*, could be a Bactrian dialect form, with -δ- either substituting non-Avestan -l- (Witzel 1980: 113, fn. 78a) or representing the middle step, which cannot be later than the early Achaemenid period, of the specifically Bactrian shift of post-consonantal θr > δ > l (de Blois 2013: 270; Tremblay 2004: 137). Vedic *bāhlika-* would then, like Av. *bāxδī-*, be based on the Bactrian dialect form, but it is difficult to imagine that the phonological developments exemplified by the form βαχλο should have taken place as early as around 1000 BCE. It is conceivable that the Bactrian dialect form *bāxδī-* entered the recitation of the *Avesta* at some point in the course of the east Iranian oral tradition, just as features of other dialects did (see below), and a similar scenario might need to be considered for the *Atharvaveda* form *bāhlika-*.

An instance of an Iranian form in Vedic texts is the verb *šavati-*, which in the Late Vedic *Nirukta* is said to mean ‘to go’ in the language of the Kambojas, a people of the Indo-Iranian borderlands. The stem of the form agrees with YAv. *šauua-* ‘sets in motion’, in which the initial IIR cluster \*čī- has become palatal ś̌ (< ś̌i < \*čī), as compared to ś̌i- in OAv. *šīiauuu-* and čī- in Ved. *cyáva-* (Witzel 1980: 92; Boyce 1991: 129–130). However, since the development of \*čī- to ś̌- and the form *šav-* ‘to go’ are not restricted to YAv. but are attested in Bactrian, Sogdian, and other Middle Iranian languages, Ved. *šavati* is not conclusive either.

## Linguistic and Literary Relationship between the *Older* and *Younger Avesta*

Significant phonetic and morphological differences between the language systems of Old and Younger Avestan and Old Persian require the assumption of considerable diachronic (temporal) and diatopic (regional) dimensions of the texts. In comparison to Old Avestan, Young(er) Avestan generally represents a more advanced stage of language

development. Most notably, the Old Avestan verb with its distinct present, aorist, and perfect stems still functions along the lines of the IE tense-aspect system. The Young(er) Avestan and Old Persian verb, by contrast, has virtually lost the aorist and developed a temporal present–preterite system based on the present stem. The relationship between Old and Young(er) Avestan is subject to an ongoing debate. The model according to which Younger Avestan is the chronological successor to Old Avestan (de Vaan 2003: 8–10) contrasts with the view that Old and Younger Avestan descend from one common Proto-Avestan ancestor. The latter model is supported with reference to dialectal differences between Old and Younger Avestan. Such differences include instances in which Younger Avestan agrees with Vedic against Old Avestan (Kellens 1989c: 35–37; Skjærvø 2003–2004: 26–35, 2007a: 854–855; Tremblay 2006b: 241–243).

While such linguistic differences have also been interpreted in diatopic terms to the exclusion of the diachronic dimension (Panaino 2007b: 24, 29–30), the Young(er) Avestan liturgical texts warrant the assumption that when they were composed the *Old(er) Avesta* not only already existed but also did so with the same internal arrangement and central importance for the *Yasna* ritual as it has in its present form (Hintze 2002). Moreover, the literary character of the liturgical *Younger Avesta* reveals that the *Older Avesta*, the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti* in particular, served as its compositional model. That the *Younger Avesta* presupposes the older one as a fixed, petrified text is indicated by the numerous quotations and adaptations from both the *Gāthās* and the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*. Such citations may be either verbatim or adapted in varying degrees to different literary contexts. For example, Y 14.1, which appears in Old Avestan garb and has been included by scholars amongst the Middle Avestan texts, takes its compositional model from the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti* passage Y 41.5, but is replaced by its Younger Avestan version when recited as Vr 5.1 in the *Vīšperad* ceremony (Hintze 2013a):

Old Avestan: Y 41.5 θβōi staotarascā mąθranascā ahurā mazdā  
aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā

We are declaring ourselves, are aspiring and making ourselves available  
to be your praisers and chanters, O Wise Lord.

Middle Avestan: Y 14.1 vīsāi vā aməšā spəntā  
staotā zaotā zbātā yaštā framarətā aibijarətā

I shall make myself available, O Life-giving Immortals,  
as your praiser, priest, invoker, sacrificer, reciter, welcomer.

Young Avestan: Vr 5.1 vīse vō aməšā spənta  
staota zaota zbāta yašta framarəta aibijarəta

I am making myself available, O Life-giving Immortals,  
as your praiser, priest, invoker, sacrificer, reciter, welcomer.

In the oral, and later written, tradition of the *Avesta*, the respective idioms of the three passages, belonging to chronologically successive linguistic strata, continued to be distinguished. Instances like this testify to the continued compositional practice of Zoroastrian priests in the same vein as that of the *Older Avesta*.

That a considerable time elapsed between the composition of the *Old(er)* and *Young(er)* *Avesta* is also suggested by the presence of doctrinal developments (Kellens 1987; Stausberg 2002b: 117–156). The Zarathustra myth as summarized above is fully developed in the *Young(er)* *Avesta*. Moreover, Young(er) Avestan priests, while being inspired by the *Old(er)* *Avesta* in their compositions, developed their own exegetical tradition while the *Old(er)* *Avesta*, whose language gradually became archaic and eventually obscure, required explanation. This emerges from Young(er) Avestan commentaries on Old Avestan texts, particularly on the three holy prayers (the *Ahuna Vairiia*, the *Aṣəm Vohū*, and the *Yēfhe Hātəm*) in Y 19–21 respectively. They indicate that an exegetical tradition, documented by the Pahlavi translations and commentaries of the *Avesta*, existed not only in Middle Iranian times but already in the Young(er) Avestan period. This suggests that from the earliest times there was a continuous tradition during which the religious system developed and solidified.

## The Provenance of the *Avesta*

It is not possible to locate the Avestan language geographically by associating it with any particular known dialect. While its geographical horizon is that of Southern Central Asia and Eastern Iran, it displays no phonological features characteristic of Eastern Iranian languages of later periods (Sims-Williams 1998: 136). As not only its composition but also the transmission of the *Avesta* was oral, by the time it was eventually committed to writing at some point in the, presumably, late Sasanian period (5th to 6th centuries CE) phonetic features from different local dialects seem to have entered its pronunciation at various stages of its transmission. Some of the peculiarities which are at variance with standard Avestan sound laws have been attributed to North-East Iranian (especially Sogdian), others to an otherwise unattested South-East Iranian 'Arachotic' dialect, and others again to Old Persian (Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 39–49, 77–85 with references; disputed by Tremblay 1996: 104–106). That local phonetic features entered the recitation of the *Avesta* is corroborated by the *Aṣəm Vohū* prayer in a Sogdian fragment (Gershevitch 1976; Hintze 1998a: 155–156; Skjærvø 2003–2004: 31).

While no geographical names occur in the *Gāthās*, the *Young(er)* *Avesta* mentions identifiable toponyms from Southern Central Asia and the Indo-Iranian borderlands (Gnoli 1987). Places such as the *Vourukaša* Sea, Lake *Kāsaoya* (the modern Lake Hāmūn) and the river *Haētumant* (the modern river Helmand in Sīstān) play significant parts in epic and theological imagery in the *Avesta*. Some of the beliefs, such as the birth of the "victorious" *Saošīiant*, or world savior, are especially connected with the land of Sīstān. Cultic practices involving excessive spilling of blood by killing animals, burning of the juniper plant, and bodily convulsions of the *daēuua*-worshipping *Vyamburas*, described and rejected in Yt 14.54–56, are similar to those observed in the early 19th century among the "Kafirīs" in Nuristan in northeastern Afghanistan. They are still attested among the Kalash Kafirs and other peoples in the Hindukush (Schwartz 1990).

The insider perspective presents *Airiiana Vāējah* of the good (river) *Dāitiā* as the homeland of the Mazdayasnian religion. This was the land where Ahura Mazdā offered



sacrifices to Anāhitā and expressed the wish that he might succeed in persuading and teaching Zarathustra “to think, speak and act according to the Mazdayasnian Religion” (Yt 5.17–19). Yima, who had previously declined Ahura Mazdā’s invitation to serve the religion (Vd 2.1–4), was, like Ahura Mazdā, ‘renowned’ (*srutō*) in that land (Vd 2.20–21), as was Zarathustra, since it was there that he had recited the *Ahuna Vairiia* prayer for the first time:

Y 9.14 *srūtō airiēne vājjahe*  
*tūm paoiriō zaraθuštra*  
*ahunəm vairīm frasrāuuaiiō*  
*vībərəθβantəm āxtūrīm*  
*aparəm xraoždīehiia frasrūiti*

Being renowned in *Airiiana Vājja*,  
 you, O Zarathustra, were the first  
 to recite the *Ahuna Vairiia*,  
 divided into phrases, four times,  
 the last time with louder recitation.

That Zarathustra brought to mankind the religion that focuses on the worship of Mazdā and rejects the *daēuuas* is a conviction that has been upheld in the Zoroastrian tradition throughout the centuries. This emerges, for example, from the colophon following the *Memoir of Zarēr* in the oldest extant Pahlavi manuscript, the codex MK dating from 1321 CE (Jamasp-Asana 1913 II: 17):

MK fol.19v1–4: *namāz zardušt ī spitāmān kē āwurd dēn ī weh mazdēs-nān abēzag rawāg pad*  
*ayārīh ī wištāsp-šāh ud zarēr ud spandyād.*

Homage to Zarathustra, the Spitamid, who brought the good religion of the Mazdā-worshippers, the pure (and) current, with the help of King Wištāsp and Zarēr and Spandyād.

Starting from the ritual site where Zarathustra spread out the sacrificial straw, the “good Mazdayasnian religion,” expressing the mindset of one who sacrifices to Mazdā, rather than the *daēuuas*, expanded over the seven regions:

Yt 13.94 *ušta nō zātō āθrauuu*  
*yō spitāmō zaraθuštrō*  
*frā nō yazāite zaoθrābiō*  
*stərətō.barəsmā zaraθuštrō*  
*iḍa apqm vījasāiti*  
*vaṛ<sup>v</sup> hi daēna mādaiiasniš*  
*vīspāiš auui karšuuqan yāiš hapta*

Hail to us, (for) the priest  
 Spitama Zarathustra has been born.  
 Zarathustra will worship for us with libations,  
 with sacrificial straw spread out.

From here then will spread  
the good, Mazdā-worshipping religion  
over all seven regions.

The title *aθauruuān*-, which here applies to Zarathustra, is a general term for ‘priest’, one of whose tasks was to travel far and wide and spread the religion (Y 9.24, 42.6; Yt 16.17, quoted in Hintze 2009b: 178). One of its derivatives, the noun *aθauruna*- ‘priestly service’, describes an activity which any member of the community, regardless of age or gender, is encouraged to pursue after having undergone the necessary training. Chapter 5 of the priestly treatise entitled *Hērbedestān* seems to suggest that each family was expected to send out at least one of its members for ‘priestly service’ within a certain period of time for the dual purpose of disseminating the teachings of the Mazdayasnian religion and of carrying out various religious and ritual activities. The newly formed communities would then in turn have to send out some of their own members for *aθauruna*-, thus creating a domino effect which would account for the spread of the Mazdayasnian religion throughout the lands inhabited by Iranians (Hintze 2009b).

## Conclusion

Linguistic, literary and conceptual characteristics suggest that the *Old(er) Avesta* pre-dates the *Young(er) Avesta* by several centuries. Although it is currently not possible to correlate archaeological and linguistic evidence, the most likely model historically is that Iranian tribes were on the move southwards into Iran some time around the mid-2nd millennium BCE. The provenance of the *Avesta* and of the Zoroastrian religion would then coincide with that of the Avestan language and early Iranians, presumably in the area of Southern Central Asia. The prehistoric origin of the religion is also indicated by the archaic formation of the adjective *māzdaiiasni*- characterizing the worldview, or *daēnā*-, of someone who worships Mazdā rather than *daēuuas*. Traces in the *Hērbedestān* for the idea of its planned dissemination suggest that the religion had a particular pre-historic starting point. The latter also forms part of the Zarathustra myth, according to which he started the Mazdayasnian religion in *Airiiana Vāējah*.

## Further Reading

The most thorough archaeological attempt to resolve the problem of the Indo-Iranian migrations is Kuz'mina (2007). A good survey of the complex issues involved is Lamberg-Karlovsky (2002), which includes not only the author's own views but also comments by other experts in different disciplines, including linguistics, anthropology, and archaeology. Hintze (2009a) and Huyse (2009) survey Avestan and Old Persian literature respectively, and Jamison (1991: 1–41) surveys Vedic literature.

Sims-Williams (1998) gives both a concise presentation of Old Iranian grammar in comparison with Vedic and Middle Iranian and an annotated bibliography. The most recent survey of Avestan grammar is Skjærvø (2009), and for Old Avestan syntax see West (2011). The most detailed discussions of the relationship between Old(er) and Young(er) Avestan are Tremblay (2006b) and, with diametrically opposed conclusions, Skjærvø (2003–2004) and Panaino (2007b).

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